



Home Office

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Dr Robin Bunce
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5 August 2010

Ref:CR14349

Dear Dr Bunce

I am writing further to my e-mail of 14 May about your request for files about the Black Power Movement. Your request has been handled as a request for information under the Freedom of Information Act 2000. We are now in a position to provide a full reply to your request.

I am able to disclose some of the information that you requested. A photocopy of extracts from HO 376/154 and HO 376/155 is enclosed. Names of persons not already in the public domain have been redacted as they are exempt from disclosure under section 40(2) of the Freedom of Information Act (personal information).

I can also confirm that the Home Office holds further information from the files that you requested. However, after careful consideration we have decided that this information is exempt from disclosure under section 23(1) of the Freedom of Information Act. This provides that information can be withheld where it was supplied by, or relates to, bodies dealing with security matters. Please note however, that, in spite of the fact that both files are entitled "Black power: intelligence reports" most of the withheld material does not concern the black power movement.

Further explanation of the exemptions can be found in the enclosed Annex A.

The Home Office does not hold file no LO 2/216. This is a Law Officers' Department registered file, held by The National Archives.

You can contact The National Archives at:
<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>

The National Archives,
Kew, Richmond,
 Surrey, TW9 4DU.

Annex A – application of exemptions

S40(2) – personal information

The general policy of the Home Office is not to disclose, to a third party, personal information about another person. This is because we have obligations under the Data Protection Act and in law generally to protect this information. Your request for personal information has been considered in line with our obligations under the Freedom of Information (Fol) Act. However, we have concluded that the information you have requested is exempt from disclosure under section 40(2) of the Fol Act. This exempts personal data if disclosure would breach any of the data protection principles.

Section 23(1) – Information supplied by, or relating to, bodies dealing with security matters

Information held by a public authority is exempt information if was directly or indirectly supplied to the public authority by, or relates to, any of the bodies specified in subsection (3).

The bodies referred to in subsections 1 and 3 are:

- a. The Security Service
- b. The Secret Intelligence Service
- c. The Government Communications Headquarters
- d. The special forces
- e. The Tribunal established under section 65 of the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000
- f. The Tribunal established under section 7 of the Interception of Communications Act 1985
- g. The Tribunal established under section 5 of the Security Service Act 1989
- h. The Tribunal established under section 9 of the Intelligence Services Act 1994
- i. The Security Vetting Appeals Panel
- j. The Security Commission
- k. The National Criminal Intelligence Service, and
- l. The Service Authority for the National Criminal Intelligence Service

Annex A – complaints procedure

If you are dissatisfied with this response you may request an independent internal review of our handling of your request by submitting a complaint within two months to the address below, quoting reference 14349. If you ask for an internal review, it would be helpful if you could say why you are dissatisfied with the response.

Information Access Team
Home Office
Ground Floor, Seacole Building
2 Marsham Street
London SW1P 4DF
e-mail: FOIRequests@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

As part of any internal review the Department's handling of your information request will be reassessed by staff who were not involved in providing you with this response. If you remain dissatisfied after this internal review, you would have a right of complaint to the Information Commissioner as established by section 50 of the Freedom of Information Act.

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OPENED: 19.3.6

RE-COVERED: - 6 MAR 79

SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

RELATED PAPERS

RD: 158/5/5

BLACK POWER

[illegible]

29333-1-2-66 XBD 241

SEE NOTE INSIDE FRONT COVER

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HO 376/00154/

22

Mr. Weiler

I would be interested to have a note on the Black Panther Movement which I see is reported to have been behind the disturbances in Paddington yesterday. In particular would you let me have your assessment of the aims, leadership and methods of this organisation. Also the extent of its support and its relationship with the police.

Should you care to widen your note to take into account other extremist organisations inside and outside London I would be interested in your views.

(WINDLESHAM)

Telegraph

11:8.70

Wide distinctions in black groups

THERE are important distinctions, which the uninitiated may find it hard to draw, between the authentic immigrant organisations, dismayed by Sunday's affray in West London, and more militant groups.

Three representative organisations are the Indian Workers' Association, the National Federation of Pakistani Associations and the West Indian Standing Conference—of which Jeff Crawford and Mrs Frank Worrell are members.

Praful Patel, an East African Asian business man, is honorary secretary of the Committee on United Kingdom Citizenship, mainly interested in British Asians. There is also the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, of whom Mrs Mary Dines is honorary secretary.

The activists comprise wholly different groups. Chief among them is the Racial Action Adjustment Society (RAAS), associated with Michael X. There are also the Universal Coloured People's Association, the Black Panthers, the Black People's Alliance, the Black Radical Action Movement and the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination.

All these are separate elements in what is loosely called the Black Power movement.

LONDON DAY BY DAY

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Mr. Weller

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Black Power

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I attach, as promised, material from New Scotland Yard giving (in one document) an assessment by Commander of the significance of recent incidents in the general context of community relations and relations between the police and coloured communities in London; and giving ^{Separate} Special Branch general comment with some detail about organisations and persons. In a covering letter to me Mr. Mark says:

"On the continuance of the investigation of Sunday's incident I cannot say more at present than that consideration will be given within about seven days to charging all, or almost all, of the prisoners with affray. The gathering and evaluation of evidence naturally makes it difficult to be more precise at the moment.

There is one other aspect of the last incident that I propose to discuss with the Commissioner on his return: namely, the need for police to be able to reply immediately to malicious allegations couched in general terms. I think that, notwithstanding the difficulties, we should explore the possibility of improving the present rather irritating situation in which by the time the truth is known the press and the public have lost interest in it."

I also promised comment on the bearing of race relations legislation on what has lately been said and done by the black militants. Broadly, the legislation is aimed at putting a stop to discrimination in the provision of services or facilities (including advertisements relating to this). Some of the activities or intended activities of the Black House (e.g. the establishment of a supermarket to buy from coloured people for sale to coloured people) might be questionable and might have to be considered by the Race Relations Board.

But the more interesting aspect of the legislation for present purposes is that there is a provision (section 6 of the

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Race Relations Act 1965) which makes it an offence for a person with intent to stir up hatred against any section of the public in Great Britain distinguished by colour, race or ethnic or national origins to

- (i) publish or distribute written matter which is threatening, abusive or insulting;
- (ii) use at any public place or any public meeting words which are threatening, abusive or insulting - if in either case the matter or words are likely to stir up hatred against the section of the public concerned on grounds of colour, race or ethnic or national origins.

A prosecution may be instituted in England and Wales only by or with the consent of the Attorney-General.

The section was not intended to penalise ordinary discussion or legitimate controversy. The idea was that it would be used to deal with organised campaigns of incitement to racial hatred rather than with isolated incidents. Like the rest of race relations legislation, it was conceived more to protect minorities against the malice of the British (e.g. Colin Jordan) than to protect the British against Black Power or other coloured minorities.

There are inhibitions of two kinds about prosecutions under the section:

- (a) The provision treads on delicate ground since it plainly threatens some encroachment on freedom of speech. Parliament accepted that the encroachment was justifiable for the purpose of checking emergent agitators who were intent on introducing hatred into race relations.

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- (b) There is a risk that prosecutions may arouse public sympathy for those prosecuted (and consequently antipathy towards those who were the subject of the incitement) and give wider publicity to racialist views.

One would not expect the point at (b) to count for much in the present context but you will have noted the emphasis which Roy Sawh has been laying on the need for a public inquiry on relations between the police and coloured people. He and his friends may be reckoning that if they make enough public stir they will attract some sympathy from all the shade of opinion which can be rallied on a cry of "police brutality" and he might be expected to use a trial for the same purposes. This sort of opportunism would be in line with what Commander says about the basis for action at Caledonian Road and Notting Hill.

We hope to receive a note from the Community Relations Commission giving their view on recent events. When you see Dr. next week you may like to take the opportunity of working out a general course of action to be followed over a period. The following main points occur to me:

- (i) Dr. may prove not to be in very close touch with the springs of recent action, but he is eloquent (and, I think, very convincing) on the importance of good relations between police and West Indians. I have a lively memory of his sombre talk to a conference in March this year about his recurring nightmare based on the supposition that one day a British policeman would be obliged to kill a West Indian. He has thought very seriously but may be willing to confess that he has few solutions.

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(ii) We know very well that recruitment of coloured people to the police service is of key importance. It is difficult because the few candidates who will come forward are commonly found not to be up to standard; and the police rightly insist on maintaining both physical and educational standards. The most encouraging line of approach is likely to be through cadet training and we are at present working on the possibilities of ensuring that several coloured cadets can be taken through their training courses together in order to enable them to give one another support and confidence. We have in the past talked to chief constables on this subject and it is probably time to have another go at them. It may also be time to enlist the active help of the Caribbean High Commissioners, who in a talk not long ago with your predecessor said in general terms that they would try to help.

(iii) Mr. has had a lot to say about the only way of breaking down distrust of the police being the establishment of some system for independent handling of complaints against the police. This seems to me a gross oversimplification and, although I hope an independent element can be introduced, it will not be on a big enough scale to satisfy Mr. Crawford or others. But Dr. Pitt's views about this might be worth having.

(iv) Criticism of the "establishment" by coloured leaders extends beyond the police to the judiciary. It is often said that coloured people cannot expect their

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word to be taken by the magistrates against the word of a white person and, in particular, a white policeman. Again, Dr. views on the truth and significance of this might be worth having.

- (v) You will probably feel that when the immediate heat has gone out of the situation (as I hope and expect it will in a few weeks) you could usefully make a speech which would regret the attempts of unrepresentative coloured leaders to provoke violence and to set back the very real efforts made by the police and others; recounting the attempts at improvement made on the police side; and in general trying to defuse the situation. If, however, incidents recur in the next week or two, an early speech would be desirable and you might think it right to hold discussions with Members in the main constituencies affected.

12th August, 1970.

Copies: Lord Windlesham
Sir Philip Allen
Mr. Weiler
Mr. Wright

Continuing
Metropolitan Police Office

A7 Branch

11 August 1970

REPORT

Acting AC'A'

APPRAISAL OF THE RACIAL ASPECTS OF THE INCIDENT ON NOTTING HILL
SUB DIVISION ON SUNDAY 9 AUGUST 1970

It has been noticeable over recent months that the greatest amount of publicity has been given by the press and television to the problems of the Pakistani members of the immigrant communities and it is my firm belief, based on conversations with West Indians and information received from Divisional CLOs, that West Indian members of the more militant representative groups have felt that the problems of the West Indian are in danger of being overlooked and in order to ensure that this does not become a reality, are now making a determined effort to arouse feelings among their fellow countrymen and if possible to take violent action to obtain recognition of their cause.

All the signs are that Black Power is at the heart of all militant action by West Indian members of our community and whilst many of its members have spent some time in this country their general phraseology and slogans indicate that their philosophy is based upon the problems of the North American continent rather than the United Kingdom which does not make it readily acceptable to those West Indians who are prepared to accept and wish to raise their children in the British way of life. From sample opinions obtained from all ranks of this Force I am satisfied that the average West Indian living in the MPD, whilst aware that his housing and social standing are not equal to those of the majority of the indigenous population, is prepared to tolerate the inadequacies in the hope that the future for his children will greatly improve.

In an effort to prove that the Black Power movement in this country was a force to be reckoned with the hard core planners led by Michael X have been looking for an instance which would further their particular cause and by a system of communication one with the other on the night of 27 July 1970 they succeeded in turning what was purely a straightforward police action on Calxendonian Road Section into a racial incident. In fact it was only the level headed manner of the police officer in charge and his few subordinate officers who succeeded in containing the subsequent situation at the Police Station from becoming a serious racial disturbance. The outcome of this particular incident has still to be resolved at Court.

It is known that members of the Black Power movement have in the past few months taken a particular interest in the Mangrove Restaurant, 8 All Saints Road, W11, and this is another example of their efforts to turn a perfectly ordinary incident into one of a racial nature. The brief facts are that this restaurant was

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raided on a drugs warrant over 12 months ago and arrests were made and the offenders subsequently convicted at Court. Some 3 months ago as a result of several complaints to the Local Authority by residents regarding the insanitary conditions at the rear of the premises, police assistance was sought by the Westminster City Council to support a visit by a Health Inspector. On the occasion of this visit there appeared to be a policy of complete non co-operation by the manager and his assistants and several police officers injured and arrests made for assault on police. Since that time there have been 4 visits to the premises by police officers and a total of 10 summonses are outstanding, due for hearing at Kensington Petty Sessions on 14 August 1970 and the owner of the cafe is currently on remand for assault on police, due for hearing at Marylebone Court on 9 September 1970. There is no truth in the press reports that there is a policy of police harassment against this restaurant as all the visits of the past 3 months have been made at the instigation of the Local Authority who have refused to grant a night cafe registration certificate under the Greater London Council (GP) Act, 1968, Part VIII.

One of the disturbing features of the demonstration and procession that took place on Sunday 9 August was the policy from the outset to provoke police officers into making some physical reaction to constant baiting not least of which was the revolting spectacle of each officer at least once having the head of a pig which was dripping with blood thrust into his face accompanied by such taunts as 'meet your brother'. This action alone in my submission shows this to be a procession called by people who are over aggressive and determined to exploit any situation to their advantage and not by people who are troubled about the social problems of some members of our community. The dignity and self control with which the police officers conducted themselves throughout is worthy of the highest praise. It is a pity that due regard was not made to this aspect when the incident was reported through the mass media.

One officer in particular was named by some members of the procession as being 'anti-black' and he is PC [redacted] who has been the object of derision and ridicule by Black Power members on a previous occasion when consideration was given to prosecuting the editors of Black Dwarf for a Criminal Libel but it was felt that as the persons responsible were 'men of straw' they would stand to gain more publicity from such an action and PC [redacted] was denied the redress through the Courts.

It is of interest to note that the population of Kensington and Chelsea ('B' Division) as at June 1968 was 210,720 and the estimated coloured population in October 1969 was 40,900 made up as follows:-

34,400	West Indian
500	African
6,000	Miscellaneous

With regard to complaints for 1969 the total number of complainants against police in the NPD was 3,296 of whom 331 were coloured complainants. For 'B' Division there were 284 complaints (no separate figures for coloured people are available). In the first quarter of 1970 there were 267 complaints of whom 78 were coloured complainants and for 'B' Division there were 65 complaints (no separate figures available for coloured people).

Information is still being received in this office of visits by members of the West Indian communities in inner London who have called at police stations and stated that they have no wish to be connected with this disgraceful conduct on Sunday 9 August 1970 and the local Community Relations Committee for Kensington and Chelsea have extended an invitation to local police officers to

Continuing
attend a special meeting of their members called for later this week to consider the publication of a statement of confidence in the local police.

Whilst recognising that as the front line of defence the police service inevitably in all types of situations are vulnerable it cannot be denied that incidents of the type that took place on Sunday 9 August can do nothing but harm to police/community relations. They polarize the situation and the indigenous population adopt the attitude of despair whilst the immigrant population see it as another threat to their security.

Commander

Continuing

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Special Branch
New Scotland Yard

11 August 1970

"BLACK POWER" IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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1. At the outset, it must be stressed that there are coloured organisations in this country which are not of themselves extremist, and there are extremist organisations which are not exclusively coloured. Those organisations in which the two elements are combined are fortunately few in London and are virtually confined to those wholly or mainly supporting "Black Power", for it is in the "Black Power" concept that we find the only forms of extremism which are exclusive to black people. The numerous organisations up and down the country, particularly the local council liaison committees operating under the umbrella of the government sponsored National Committee of Commonwealth Immigrants (now renamed Community Relations ^{Commission} Board), all of which are fostering the general principles of racial integration and a lessening of colour prejudice, cannot be regarded as coming within the orbit of extremist organisations, even although in certain cases executive positions may be held by coloured extremists.

2. "Black Power" is a concept and a term which, has been given an exaggerated sense of importance and status out of all perspective. In this respect, the national press, radio and television can be held primarily responsible, for time and again individuals have been referred to, or introduced, as leaders of "Black Power" when in fact they were the leading personalities of small groups numbering no more than 50/60 persons, and never deserved or warranted more ambitious descriptions.

3. "Black Power", as a promotional force, is incapable of definition except by reference to the organisations owing allegiance to it. It has its birthplace and its heartland in the USA, where it burst upon the public during the seasonal outbreaks of civil disorder in the Spring of 1966. Its name was coined, so it is said, by a white man, Senator Eastland of Mississippi, who saw it strictly from the white man's viewpoint as a threat to white society. Its arch-apostle was the demagogue Stokely CARMICHAEL, who spread

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its message with the fervour of an evangelist and it has since gone from strength to strength in the USA through the medium of a multiplicity of coloured organisations reflecting otherwise considerably diverging interests. What may be termed the main-stream of US "Black Power" opinion advocates four main issues:-

- 1) the establishment of a black militia on a national and local basis, similar to the US National Guard;
 - 2) the accountability of police for its actions against negroes;
 - 3) a similar accountability of the courts and judiciary;
 - 4) the capacity to influence members of the negro community to undertake retaliatory measures and indulge in acts of selective terrorism.
4. Such thinking can probably be seen in a clearer light from virtually the last words spoken by CARMICHAEL at a public meeting on the last day of his whirlwind 9 day crusade in this country in 1967. He ended a speech as follows:-

"Coloured people have to realise they are fighting a capitalist and racist society, and it is necessary to internationalise our struggle throughout the world, using violence if necessary in the form of guerilla action. Only complete black unity can overthrow white oppression and I fervently want to see coloured people return to their own home countries and continue the struggle for liberation, as the negroes in America were doing. It is not morality that runs the world, it is power, and the black peoples of the world are going to win in the long run."

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5. With regard to the United Kingdom, it may be said that the basic principles of "Black Power" have been avidly adopted by its devotees here, although in a simplified and somewhat bastardised form. Without comparable conditions and a comparable environment, it is not possible to implant such alien ideas here without some adaptation. The "Back to Africa" concept, as advocated by CARMICHAEL and others for instance, is frankly silly in a community already containing a fair proportion of real Africans and can have little appeal to people who have already chosen to come to this country, rather than any other, in preference to their homelands. The establishment of a black militia is another notion which has not caught on, and the only retaliatory measures proposed which have not been mere hot air, have led where evidence has been forthcoming to criminal proceedings being taken against their authors as soon as the police had wind of what was going on. Terrorism has been threatened and terrorist hand-books have been reproduced and played with, but nothing has transpired to compare with the activities of the Spanish 1st May Group - which was responsible for the shooting up of the US Embassy in 1967, and the bomb explosions in the US Services Club in London, Spanish Embassy and just lately the Bilbao Bank. It is only in the spheres of police and judicial accountability that anything like "Black Power" principles have been applied, and even then the thunder has really been stolen by other organisations, black and white, which have been harassing the police for years. To a public conditioned by legislation to accept integration as a fact of life, and to a society conditioned by immigration from pre-Roman times to prepare for it, the notion of any separate development is little more than a curiosity.

6. "Black Power" in this country may be said to date from July 1967, when Stokely CARMICHAEL paid the flying visit already mentioned which had all the appearance, and something of the effect, of an evangelical crusade. His visit, however, did not lead directly to the formation of any exclusively "Black Power" organisation, although it led to the re-orientation of two coloured organisations already in existence. These, the Racial Adjustment

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Action Society and the Universal Coloured People's Association, did not, as it happened, greatly benefit from his visit in the long run, although the stage was firmly set for the next act in the lives of the people immediately concerned. What his visit did achieve was to throw up a few imitators, although none of these were new men and none of them came anywhere near to approaching his political stature. Their ambitions were all in other directions than "Black Power" and their preoccupations with other interests ensured that "Black Power" in this country lacked the professionalism of its Transatlantic counterpart. There is still no one organisation representative of "Black Power", nor has there yet been a national conference on it, and the "Black Power" movement in this country, such as it is, is still one of personalities rather than of organisations.

7. Considered in this way, its impact on the immigrant population has been minimal and, inasmuch as "Black Power" is supposed to be directed against white exploitation rather than against race, its devotees here have first to sell the symptoms of that exploitation before they can sell their remedy for it. That they are hard-pressed to do. Comparatively speaking in this country there is not a coloured population with its back to the wall, fighting grinding poverty from dingy ghettos; despite what may be written from time to time about Brixton and Notting Hill; there is nowhere in this country where a black man might not live in competition with the rest of the population as is the case in the USA and no area of coloured settlement where a white man need fear to walk. As far as this country is concerned, "Black Power" is a remedy in search of a complaint and its advocates are preaching, in the main, to unbelievers.

8. The arch-disciple of "Black Power" in this country is a Trinidadian whose "slave-name" (i.e., the one he was born with) was Michael de FREITAS, since changed to Michael X and Michael ABDUL-MALIK. This creature, an exploiter of white and black alike, was earlier a second-rate imitator and disciple of the late Malcolm 'X' LITTLE, the Black Muslim leader who was

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assassinated in New York in February 1965. From LITTLE he conceived the notion of black separatism, leading to the formation, in January 1965, of his Racial Adjustment Action Society, a small and ineffective body which enjoyed a fitful existence and helped to line his pocket until November 1967, when he went to prison for twelve months for offences against Section 6 of the Race Relations Act. On his release in July 1968, he took up with most of his old cronies and re-shaped RAAS into a new venture called the Black Eagles, which embodied, among other features, the "Black Power" concern for police accountability, suitably translated into a system of street patrols in the Notting Hill area. This was ostensibly to protect coloured people from so-called police persecution, but equally suited to protect his mobsters when engaged in cannabis trafficking, and the scheme died almost as soon as it was born. ABDUL-MALIK is, of course, a criminal villain, distinct from the political villain, and as such is unable to command the respect of the coloured community in London as a whole. At one time a rent collector for the notorious Perec RACHIMAN, he has convictions for larceny, brothel-keeping, possessing cannabis, and was also charged with robbery until the complainant, rather conveniently, left the UK in a hurry, resulting in the matter being dropped. Since his release from prison in July 1968, he has been unemployed, yet he lives very well - doubtless on the peddling of soft drugs by his cronies. He has recently reformed the Racial Adjustment Action Society with offices at the "Black House" 95-107 Holloway Road, N7, premises which he also uses as living quarters for himself and other coloured persons. The "Black House" is in the process of being developed as a supermarket and cultural centre for coloured persons and should the plans reach fruition it will undoubtedly become a focal point for militants among the coloured population of London to an even greater extent than it is now.

9. Other leading coloured extremists who pay lip service to the concept of "Black Power" - such as Roy SAWH, , Obi EGBUNA, Ajoy GHOSE and - are mentioned in Appendix 'B' to this report.

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10. Although, as has been pointed out, the concept of 'Black Power' is alien to this country, its advocates are potentially dangerous for, in an effort to make their philosophy more meaningful to the coloured community, they have set out deliberately to manufacture complaints of white oppression. This process has been characterised in particular by an intemperate anti-police campaign. During the last two years, for example, leading coloured extremists in the Camden and Islington areas have regularly reiterated allegations that police do not adequately protect coloured persons from white hooligans and they have attempted to form 'vigilante' patrols for that purpose. A more venomous aspect of this campaign has been the way in which the militants have attempted to build up the legend of "police brutality". The smallest incident between police and members of the coloured community has been exaggerated and the impression given that all police are "fascist pigs" whose one purpose in life is to persecute, harass and molest the non-white persons. The emotional hysteria and mistrust thus engendered in the coloured community led directly, of course, to the violent scenes which were enacted in the Notting Hill area on 9 August.

11. The demonstration on that day was not the first manifestation of this present anti-police feeling. It has been latent in the Brixton area for some time and it was forcibly expressed on 15 November 1969 during an incident involving a coloured Nigerian diplomat, Clement GOMWALK. He left his car unattended in the extremely busy narrow road and went shopping; a great deal of obstruction was caused, and when police officers asked him to remove the car he ignored them, and later struck one of the officers. After further incidents, the officers attempted to remove the car; GOMWALK interfered, and a large crowd of West Indians collected and attempted to rescue GOMWALK, who was removed from the scene. They attacked police and six coloured persons were arrested. GOMWALK later claimed diplomatic privilege, and eventually an apology for his behaviour was received from the Nigerian High Commission in London.

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12. The same anti-police brutality was evident on 27 July. On the evening of that day a coloured youth who was stopped in Market Road, N7, by uniformed police regarding his possession of a radio set proved extremely obstructive. During the subsequent questioning a hostile crowd of about 100 coloured persons gathered and when an attempt was made to take the youth to the police station for further enquiries a fracas ensued. Four people, including the youth in question, were arrested for assault on police and the situation was only prevented from worsening by their prompt removal to Caledonian Road Police Station. Michael Abdul MALIK called at the station a short while later with a journalist and solicitor's clerk to demand the release of the prisoners. When their demand was refused MALIK left and returned later with more than 100 coloured persons who invaded the police station clamouring for the release of the prisoners while he watched from the opposite side of the road. Damage was caused to police property and a further seven persons were arrested before the crowd was ejected to the street where they remained until dawn before dispersing. All those arrested, with the exception of a juvenile, appeared at Old Street Magistrates' Court on 28 July and were remanded on bail to appear at the same Court on various dates in October. In the meantime the question of preferring a charge of conspiracy to cause an affray is being considered by uniformed police.

13. These incidents - only three of many similar ones - undoubtedly characterise the strategy of the black separatists in this country. They are intent upon bringing about direct confrontations with police in order to sow the seeds of racial friction and thereby advance the cause of "Black Power". The organisations which are directly or indirectly concerned in the implementation of the strategy are set out in Appendix 'A' of this report.

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14. Although the results of this policy produce isolated challenges to public order, it must be stressed that the philosophy of black separatism has been largely ignored by the vast majority of coloured persons in this country. This is borne out by the fact that, after three years, there are no more than 300 convinced 'Black Power' supporters in the Metropolitan Police District; that they are dispersed in some ten small, factional groups rather than one united organisation; that no national conference has been held on the issue; and that no generally respected and acceptable leader has emerged to blend the cult with a mass movement. There is always the possibility however, that the younger generation of immigrants' children, born and bred here, will find themselves in the position, or will be persuaded that they are in the position, of being not the expatriates that their parents are but the victims of a major social disaster binding them to a new kind of economic slavery as the drudges of a white society which has been so conditioned to integration that it takes them for granted. A situation which, in essence, resembles that current in the USA. The fact that many of the participants in the demonstration on 9 August were young coloured persons is perhaps a pointer in this direction. Although MALIK undoubtedly exerts some sway over these youngsters, it is perhaps a temporary sway, for he could not be further removed from the idealistic Martin Luther KING image which is perhaps the only thing likely to blend the feelings of the coloured people in this country into a mass movement.

15. The absence of such a unifying figure as KING is not the only factor which has tended to weaken and diversify the 'Black Power' movement in this country. It has made little general impact on the coloured community because, black nationalism apart, it has no common political philosophy. Its advocates are a heterogeneous mixture of pro-Moscow communists, maoists and trotskyists and, as such, their efforts are often lost in a welter of abstruse dialectics. This has an obverse side, of course, for it has been apparent in recent months that British communists, trotskyists and maoists have been taking up the 'Black Power' cry and participating more frequently

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in demonstrations against "police brutality". They have little objective interest in black separatism, however, and are more concerned to find a suitably damaging peg upon which to hang their revolutionary creeds.

16. To sum up. For the immediate future it is unlikely, in the absence of any figure so idealistic, so dedicated and so universally respected as Martin Luther KING, that all the feelings of coloured people in this country will find expression in a mass "Black Power" movement. What is more likely is that odd, sporadic outbursts of violence over some relatively minor matter will continue when police come into contact with coloured hot-heads and that both black and white militants will do their utmost to make capital out of the situation.

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APPENDIX 'A'

"BLACK POWER" ORGANISATIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. UNIVERSAL BLACK PEOPLE'S IMPROVEMENT ORGANISATION

This organisation, the successor to the Notting Hill Community (Self-Help) Association (Ltd.) was formed in May 1969 as a vehicle for coloured communalism. Until the incidents on 9 August 1970 at Notting Hill there has been little action from this particular group since its inception, with the possible exception of an incident in Portobello Road, W10 on 10.7.69 when Police were severely harassed following an accident when an out-of-control Police vehicle fatally injured a coloured man.

The prime movers in the organisation are

. Roy SAWH and Abdul MALIK also have loose connections with this organisation.

Generally speaking the group is predominantly West Indian in composition and is more aligned to a concept of Mother Africa as promoted by the North American organisations, Republic of New Africa and the African-American Repatriation Association. This group was used as a vehicle by Frank CRITCHLOW, owner of the Mangrove Restaurant, 8 All Saints Road, W11, to organise the demonstration against alleged police brutality and harassment held at Notting Hill on 9 August 1970, during the course of which violence was used against police.

2. ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S JUSTICE

This organisation, formed in August 1969 by , a prominent member of the Universal Coloured People's Association, is designed to promote activities opposing alleged police brutality towards coloured people. Its main activities to date have been a number of minor demonstrations outside Brixton Prison.

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- 2 -

3. AFRICAN DESCENDANTS' ADVANCEMENT MOVEMENT

This negro separatist organisation, formed in October 1967, confines its activities to encouraging interest in modern Africa with a view to reviving African traditions and culture.

4. BLACK PANTHERS

The Black Panthers is the organisation based on straightforward black exclusivism with a minimum of political undertone, although support tends to be given to the U.C.P.A. on occasion. Obi EGBUNA used to lead this body, but all his activities have been seriously inhibited by the three-year suspended sentence imposed on him in December 1968. The Brixton chapter, led by 'Eddie' LECOINTE is now the most active group in this organisation, and joined in the demonstration against alleged police harassment on 9 August at Notting Hill.

5. BLACK PEOPLES' ALLIANCE

The Black Peoples' Alliance (B.P.A), hailed at its formation in April 1968 as being the new united front of all the immigrant organisations, appears to have met with the same problems as beset previous attempts at unification. The origins of its members are so polymorphous, with the result that their interests and aspirations are equally diverse. The prime movers, Jagmohan JOSHI and the more militant Roy SAWH, quickly fell out, resulting in the dismissal of SAWH at the beginning of 1969. The organisation has some links with the United States Black Panther Party, and some members took part in the demonstration in Grosvenor Square on 2 March 1970 to protest against imprisonment of Bobby SEALE, leader of American Black Panthers.

6. BLACK POWER PARTY

This separatist organisation was formed in February 1969 by Roy SAWH to promote activities in furtherance of his highly individual notions of racial and social exclusivism. It has shown no marked activity during the current year.

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7. BLACK WORKERS' CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

This organisation, another creation of the inventive , was formed early in 1969 to promote racial and social exclusivism. It involved itself in protest demonstrations during an industrial dispute concerning the dismissal of a coloured worker during the Summer of 1969, but its other activities, if any, have not been marked up to the present time.

8. THE UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION

The Universal Coloured People's Association remains one of the main vehicles of Black Power in this country. Although the leadership and political motivation has changed, the U.C.P.A. remains the largest and the most active coloured peoples' separatist organisation. The total membership, the vast majority of whom reside in London, is now estimated to be less than 100, but no exact figures are available.

The imprisonment of , in February 1969 for inciting persons to carry weapons at a public demonstration, and the expulsion of , both of whom were sympathetic towards Maoism, the Association tended towards Trotskyism. This became particularly apparent after the election of , a member of the International Marxist Group, as Treasurer. This trend towards Trotskyism and International Socialism has been reflected in the various writings published by the U.C.P.A., particularly in articles printed in "Black Power Newsletter", the organ of the U.C.P.A., which is published intermittently. During the last year the U.C.P.A. has been regularly represented at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. A demonstration was held at Brixton on 2 August 1969 in protest against alleged brutality by police. This demonstration had been advertised as a "Mass Rally", but in fact less than 50 persons, about a third of whom were under 14 years of age, attended. On 13.9.69 the U.C.P.A. organised a march from Trafalgar Square to the Home Office in protest against the detention of Robert Franklin WILLIAMS, a U.S. citizen wanted in the U.S.A. for kidnapping, who had been refused leave to

land here. This demonstration was supported by forty persons. On 25.4.70 the U.C.P.A. demonstrated outside Arbour Square Police Station, E1, against alleged police brutality "over the last decade". About 60 persons, mostly white attended but there was no disorder.

9. UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLES' AND ARABS ASSOCIATION

The U.C.P.A.A. was the brain-child of Roy SAWH in opposition to Obi EGBUNA's U.C.P.A., but the first-named body collapsed and SAWH joined the Black People's Alliance. However, SAWH, always a militant coloured opportunist, had a serious disagreement with Jagmohan JOSHI and other leaders of the B.P.A., and in February 1969 he formed the Black People's Party - virtually a one-man-band.

10. RACIAL ADJUSTMENT ACTION SOCIETY

This organisation claims to stand for the unity and solidarity of all coloured peoples, in particular the coloured minority of Great Britain. It is led by Abdul MALIK.

It claims to have over 1,000 members in North London, mainly young coloured West Indians, but probably only about 100 actual members. Also claims to have 27 separate chapters throughout the country.

Its leading officers are:

Abdul MALIK	-	President
	-	Welfare Officer
Vincent HYNES	-	Press Officer
	-	Legal adviser.

Its office is at 'The Black House', 95-101 Holloway Road, N7, and its publication is called 'The Black House'.

APPENDIX 'B'

LEADING "BLACK POWER" PERSONALITIES
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. MALIK, Michael Abdul
 © DE FREITAS, Miguel
 © Michael 'X'
 b 17.8.33 in Trinidad

This man has played a prominent part in "Black Power" activities in Britain, being the founder and leading member of the Racial Adjustment Action Society, the Black Eagles and the Black Muslim Brotherhood. He was closely associated with the visit in July 1967 of Stokely CARMICHAEL, the coloured American agitator, which took the form of a crusade to implant the violent principles of "Black Power" in this country.

A former part-time rent collector for the late notorious Perec RACHMAN and a close associate of low-class criminals and prostitutes, MALIK professes to be a convert to Islam, believing in the inherent superiority of all black people and advocates violent methods to enforce this supremacy. He claims to have financial interests in the West Indies but, backed by a wealthy young financier, his main interest at present lies in the developments of the "Black House" in Holloway Road, London N1, as a community centre and supermarket for coloured people in this country. His motives, however, appear to be rooted as much in a desire for money and personal power as in his hatred of white people.

He was sentenced under section 6 of the Race Relations Act 1965 to 12 months imprisonment at Reading Borough Quarter Sessions on 9 November 1967 and additionally he has convictions for obstructing police, larceny servant, possession of drugs and permitting premises to be used as a brothel. He is currently on bail to appear at the Inner London Sessions on charges of robbery and blackmail.

at Goa, India.

A militant supporter of the Universal Coloured People's Association, was associating with the maoist section of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign when he was arrested on 31 October 1968 on a charge of inciting people to carry offensive weapons during the "Autumn Offensive" of that year. At the Central Criminal Court he was later sentenced to two years imprisonment for inciting to riot and one year to run concurrently for inciting to carry offensive weapons. He was released from prison on 25 June last and has since attempted to procure arms and ammunition for the use of the Black Power movement.

EGBUNA, Obi

b 18.7.36 at Enugu in Nigeria

A leading member of the Universal Coloured People's Association and the Black Panthers, EGBUNA has been a vociferous platform speaker, who has mixed with several organisations on the extreme left of the political spectrum. In July 1968 he visited Dr Kwame NKRUMAH, the former Ghanaian politician, at Conakry, Guinea, and brought back a tape-recording of a speech on "Black Power" by NKRUMAH.

A self-professed playwright, EGBUNA has convictions for assaulting and obstructing police, insulting words, threatening behaviour and wilful damage. Additionally, at the Central Criminal Court on 10 December 1968 he was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, suspended for 3 years, on counts of uttering and conspiring to utter a writing threatening to kill police officers and of conspiring to incite persons to murder police officers.

SECRET

at Lagos, Nigeria

A prominent and active supporter of the Universal Coloured People's Association and the Black Panther Movement, MARTIN was tried with Obi EGBUNA on charges of threatening and conspiring to threaten to murder police officers in December 1968, for which he was bound over in the sum of £50 for three years. However on 30 July 1969 he was arrested for insulting behaviour and on 2 December sentenced to nine months imprisonment for distributing insulting "Black Power" leaflets.

A militant and active member of the Universal Coloured People's Association, GHOSE is well-known in the Notting Hill area for his participation in local affairs. He is also connected with several pro-Chinese organisations

in Guyana

Expelled from the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1963 for his pro-Chinese beliefs, JAMES supports "Black Power" in its widest sense. He has been mainly concerned with the Caribbean Workers Movement which he founded but is also extremely active in other organisations on the extreme left.

SAWL. ROBERTSON O Roy

b. 11.1.34 in Guyana

An ebullient orator at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, SAWL has been deeply involved in the activities of a number of "Black Power" organisations for some years. He has convictions recorded against him for obstructing police, assault and under the Race Relations Act, 1965.

LECOINTE. Edmund

b. 16.11.41 in Jamaica

A prominent supporter of the Black Panthers and associate of Roy SAWL.

in Nigeria

An associate of Obi EGBUNA and apparently the principal member of the US Black Panther Solidarity Committee in the United Kingdom.

SECRET

in Jamaica

A close confidant of Obi EGBUNA and . has
taken a close interest in "Black Power" affairs and has been the S.W.
London organiser of the Universal Coloured Peoples Association.

in Nigeria

A former secretary of the Black Panther Movement and founder of
the Dynamic Youth Movement. Associate of Obi EGBUNA.

SHERVINGTON, Andre Monteith Ovid

© Amon

b. 12.10.23 in Guyana

An itinerant demonstrator, SHERVINGTON is extremely active in
"Black Power" circles and maintains connections with a number of
organisations, notably the Black Panthers, Universal Coloured Peoples
Association and the West Indian Standing Conference.

in Nigeria

A close friend of Obi EGBUNA, a staunch supporter of the
Black Panthers.

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and *not* to any individual.

Telephone Nos. 01-734 6050 Ext.....

01-930 6789 Ext.....232



BOX No. 500,
PARLIAMENT STREET B.O.,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Our ref.: SF 749-UK/E5/EAY

Your ref.:

2nd January, 1968

Dear

Howard Drake

ANTI-SEMITISM among BLACK POWER Groups

There are signs that anti-semitism, which is found among BLACK POWER groups in the United States, may be spreading to the United Kingdom.

2. The October newsletter of the UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLES ASSOCIATION (UCPA) contained an offensive attack on Jews who are regarded by BLACK POWER supporters as white in contrast with the Arabs who are "black". Since we issued our paper on BLACK POWER the UCPA, after the secession of Roy SATH and Obi EGBUNA, has moved towards the left. Their newsletter is published from 45a Earlsfield Road, London SW.18. the address of the Working People's Party of England (WPPE). The leader of the UCPA is Antonio Mousenho Leo de Souza SOARES @ Tony or Sam SINARIS who was arrested on 31st October, 1968, and later remanded on bail on a charge under Section 1 of the Prevention of Crime Act 1953 of "inciting a person unknown to commit an arrestable offence namely to carry offensive weapons at ... a public demonstration ...".

Yours

J.F.A. Howard-Drake, Esq.,
c/o John Roy, Esq.,
Room 308,
New Building,
Home Office.

EAY/LP

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Telephone Nos. REGENT 6050 Ext.
WHITEHALL 6789 Ext.



BOX No. 500,
PARLIAMENT STREET B.O.,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Our Ref.: Pol R 50-6-40(10)/15/KIC

Your Ref.:

16th November, 1967

Dear Mr. Howard Drake,

Thank you for your letter of 13th November, 1967. The JIC team, who are responsible for such matters, are now engaged on the first draft of the JIC paper on BLACK POWER. This will be based on contributions (as available) from relevant JIC member departments. In this instance they have, as you know, also asked for a Home Office contribution, which you have readily provided for them and I have no doubt that this will be included in the JIC paper.

Our paper (though primarily intended for our own purposes) has been made available to the JIS to provide a collated and assessed account of currently available security intelligence on the subject of BLACK POWER. Our paper is not intended to be a comprehensive review of the whole subject which involves political, sociological and other factors which are not the direct concern of this service.

Yours

Sincerely,

K. R. Chance

K. R. CHANCE

Mr. H. Howard-Drake Esq.,
c/o Mr. J. Slater Esq.,
Room 106,
Home Office.

L. Weston.

This seems a satisfactory
explanation.

110/12

SECRET & PERSONAL

28th February 1968

BLACK POWER

Report by the Joint Intelligence Committee

INTRODUCTION

In the report at Annex we outline the origins and aims of Black Power and examine its likely impact on the coloured populations of Britain and the Caribbean, in particular the British Commonwealth Territories (including the British Associated States and the British dependent territories). We assess the extent to which it could affect race relations in Britain and give rise to new threats to British interests. Finally we consider the possibility of its developing as an international movement and of its being exploited by the communists.

2. By Black Power we mean an extremist racialist movement advocating physical violence as a means of enabling coloured communities to secure dominant political and social status, rather than the simple achievement by coloured people of positions of authority and influence. We have in mind the pattern of action first called for by American negro extremists.
3. We conclude that:
 - (a) Black Power feeds on the wide range of negro social, economic and racial disabilities in the United States which it will take many years to remove. Though there is little likelihood of Black Power assuming major proportions in American politics, Black Power leaders will do all they can to exploit and perhaps provoke urban disorders (paragraphs 3-11);
 - (b) Black Power advocates have so far made little headway among coloured people in Britain and seem unlikely to do so in the next few years (paragraphs 12-21);

- (c) in the 1970s, however, British-born coloured school leavers will form a sizeable proportion of the young community in several major industrial areas, and if they are denied equality of treatment will form educated and frustrated minority groups upon which a Black Power movement could base itself (paragraph 22);
- (d) Black Power has made little impact in Commonwealth Caribbean countries, where its message is largely irrelevant. But in many of them social and economic discontent is rife, and the apparently successful use of violence in the USA to highlight poverty and social disability may increasingly tempt extremist opposition leaders in Caribbean Commonwealth countries to adopt similar methods, even where there are black governments (paragraphs 24-34);
- (e) Black Power is unlikely to develop into a coherent international movement (paragraph 36);
- (f) though communists will be alert to chances of exploiting the subversive possibilities offered by Black Power, the Moscow-oriented parties will fight shy of any deliberate involvement in the movement. But Peking-oriented communists will no doubt continue to make play with the analogies between Maoist and Black Power tactics of fomenting revolution (paragraphs 37-41).

(Signed) DENIS GREENHILL
Chairman, on behalf of the
Joint Intelligence Committee

Cabinet Office, S.W.1.

28th February 1968.

68/2.

SECRET

JIC(68) 8 (Revised Draft)

NOTE:

The attached revised draft report has been prepared by the Joint Intelligence Staff ('A' Team) and is circulated for the consideration of the Joint Intelligence Committee at an early meeting.

Cabinet Office, S.W.1.

8th February 1968.

Mr Roy to keep please.

12/2.

(THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT)

JIC(68) 8 (Revised Draft)

COPY NO. 76

8th February, 1968.

CABINET

JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE

BLACK POWER

INTRODUCTION

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2. By Black Power we mean an extremist racialist movement advocating physical violence as a means of enabling underprivileged coloured communities to secure what they regard as their rights, rather than the simple achievement by coloured people of positions of authority and influence. We have in mind the pattern of action first called for by American negro extremists.

3. We conclude that:

- (a) Black Power feeds on the wide range of negro social, economic and racial disabilities in the United States which it will take many years to remove. Though there is little likelihood of Black Power assuming major proportions in American politics, Black Power leaders will do all they can to exploit and perhaps provoke urban disorders (paragraphs 3-11);
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Cabinet Office, S.W.1.

8th February, 1968.

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Telephone Nos. REGENT 6050 Ext.
WHITEHALL 6789 Ext. 232



BOX No. 500,
PARLIAMENT STREET B.O.,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Our Ref.: Pol F 50-6-40(10)/15/KRC

Your Ref.:

16th November, 1967

Dear Mr. Howard Drake,

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The JIS team, who are responsible for such matters, are now engaged on the first draft of the JIC paper on BLACK POWER. This will be based on contributions (as available) from relevant JIC member departments. In this instance they have, as you know, also asked for a Home Office contribution, which you have kindly provided for them and I have no doubt that this will be included in the JIC paper.

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Yours

Sincerely,
K. R. Chance

K. R. CHANCE

M. P. A. Howard-Drake Esq.,
c/o E. J. Slater Esq.,
Room 208,
Home Office.

Mr. Howard Drake

Thank

W. Wether.

This seems a satisfactory

explanation.

KRC/LP

17/11

SECRET & PERSONAL

SECRET AND PERSONAL

5

POL F 50-6-40(10)/E5/KRC

13th November, 1967.

Thank you for the copy of the contribution to the N.I.C. paper on Black Power. I am sorry to see that no account has been taken of the point I made in my letter of 3rd October, 1967. I should like to re-iterate my view that any paper on Black Power in this country which fails to recognise even at this stage the potential problem of the second generation is defective and would urge that the inclusion of a suitable reference should be reconsidered.

(S.T.A. Howard-Brake)

Mrs. J. J. Chance

Mrs K.R. Chance

The Secretary . Box 500. Parliament Sq

POL F 50-6-40(10)/E5/KRC

Reference.....

London SW1

BO
(4A)

Mr. W.E.K.R.

You should see these papers & I am asking the Security Officer to arrange a suitable opportunity for you to see them.

You will see that the revised version of the report takes no account of my letter of 3rd October. I think this is a mistake & if you agree I propose to write as follows:-

SECRET & PERSONAL

" Thank you for the copy of the contribution to the J.C. paper on Black Power. I am sorry to see that no account has been taken of the point I made in my letter of 3rd October 1967. I should like to re-iterate my view that any paper on Black Power in this country which fails to recognise even at this stage the potential problem

if the second generation is defective & I would
urge that the inclusion of a suitable reference
should be reconsidered."

~~TOP SECRET~~

(2)

624.

JHD/1.

3rd October, 1967.

I have now read Part III of the paper on Black Power which we discussed at the JIC meeting on 22nd September. I think the particular point which I made at the meeting can be covered by adding a paragraph at the end on the following lines:-

"22. In the longer term a different situation may arise.

The 1970s will see emerging from the schools many coloured youngsters who will be entirely the product of our own educational system and environment, speaking with local accents and largely indistinguishable from their white contemporaries except by the colour of their skin.

Because immigrants have settled in not more than about 60 of our towns and cities, these "coloured English men and women" will form a sizeable proportion of the young

community in each area. Unlike their parents they will expect full equality of treatment, jobs appropriate to their skills and the opportunity to buy decent houses.

If these are denied them through prejudice they will form educated and frustrated minority groups unable to break out of their substandard environment and may turn in on themselves in opposition to the white community. Such groups, quite apart from being obvious targets for communist subversion, may spontaneously develop pro black and anti white attitudes which, even without outside influences, could turn into some form of Black Power movement which would threaten the stability of society in certain major industrial areas."

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Chance.

S.M.B. Green, Esq.,
Cabinet Office.

(J.T.A. Howard-Drake)

